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When several paternal lineages had been holding a period of seclusion at the same time, the boys' parade took them to the god house of one of the lineages, where a *kaitou lukipoko* contest was held. Each boy of the home lineage knelt with his back to a post of the god house and performed the *lupe* ritual (p. 322), beating his thighs with his hands. When the people of the other lineages heard the boys at their ritual, they sent their own *kaitou* boys to the same god house. On arriving, each boy of the second group crouched down in the customary half-bent position, beating his knees and thighs, and, making the sound "br-r-r" with his lips, advanced to one of the kneeling boys. The two locked shoulders. The challenger tried to push the kneeling boy away from the post, while his opponent tried to push him over and still retain his position by the post. The boy pushed away lost the contest and retired. The winner of a contest might go to the help of another boy of his lineage still engaged. He helped his friend, grasping him round the waist from behind and pushing with all his strength so that their combined weight might overcome the opponent. Insofar as the opponent might also be supported, strenuous contests resulted. The *kaitou* group that vanquished the most boys of the opposing group won the contest for their lineage. The defeated lineage had to wait till a later *kaitou lukipoko* to avenge its disgrace. The struggle over, the boys returned to normal group life.

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Informants were vague as to the significance of the *kaitou lukipoko*. It is likely that values besides the mere sporting ones have a place in its symbolism. The significance of its association with the god house where the priests were accustomed to worship the gods, and the employment of the *lupe* technique customarily reserved for putting the priest *en rapport* with his god, is obscure, and I have no cultural rationalization to offer other than my own speculation that the contest was originally a feature of religious initiation following on the initiation into manhood, which has been lost to the present generation of Pukapukans.

Young Men's and Young Women's Houses

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In everyday activities there is little difference between the life of the youth and that of the young adult. Young men and women are expected to engage more seriously in work, the boys fishing, the girls helping consistently with household duties. In the realm of sex they are now considered mature enough to lead sexual lives. For this and other purposes they might formerly leave the family house and live in *wale lopa* or *wale tamawine* (young men's or young women's houses) with companions of their own age and sex. It does not appear that these houses had the institutional character associated with the bachelor houses of Melanesian communities. There was nothing obligatory about membership in them. The way in which a young men's house might be formed was explained by informants as follows:

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A boy or girl might invite one or more friends to come and live with him at his parents' house. Some parents might not object, as living in the house implied obligations to assist in providing food and brought extra food shares to the household. On the other hand, a parent might object to having several young men (*lopa*) or women (*tamawine*) around his house, especially if they were lazy, and would tell his son or daughter to go build a house elsewhere, where he or she could live with friends without annoying anyone. The house was built on any convenient site—on land owned by the

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beauty. The woman was bathing in the water. The *tikitiki* pecked at her kilt which fell off. When Muli rushed from the water to drive away the bird, Ngaliyeyeu was waiting for her.

COMMUNICATION WITH THE GODS

Communication with other-worldly powers was generally through the medium of priests. Many times, however, a layman might procure the favor of the gods, or the gods might themselves favor the man with a communication, without the medium of the priest. When warning of reserve violations, the gods and attendants spoke directly to the person concerned. On the other hand, to consult the ancestor god for fishing favors, the captain or any member of a fishing canoe communicated the desires of his crew by performing the *wakatato* ritual close to the religious clearing of the god. In *wakatato*, the suppliant stands up, sways his body back and forward and quickly beats the fronts of his thighs (*wakatato te tenga*) with the palms of his hands. This was believed to attract the attention of the god. Consultations of free lance gods or spirits were sometimes accompanied by a gift of flowers thrown on the ground where the god was supposed to be, or else thrown on the ground anywhere, with the idea that the god would see the flowers and recognize the tribute.

The technique of communicating a request to the gods Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu was different. The intercessor held a coconut-leaf midrib in the air and addressed the gods as follows:

Te lua nie kaina e!	Two penises desirable to eat (a term of affectionate address), hail!
Te matangi manino	(Make) the wind calm
Toka te vanga!	Subside the spacings (between the waves)!

Each time he reached the end of his request, he beat the butt of the midrib on the ground with a loud report to attract the attention of the gods. He repeated the plea and the noise-making until the gods listened to him and answered the request. This method of interceding with these gods was done anywhere and was as successful on sea as on land. That anyone might thus directly address these gods probably accounts for some of their popularity.

There is no record of any direct communication with the gods by family prayers, libations, food gifts, or dedication of children.

Religious Structures

Communications to the gods by priests needed the instrumentalities of religious structures: *pionga*, *auanga*, *uale atua*, and *potu*. The *potu* structure, as distinguished from the sacred seat (*potu*) in a god house, was a simple shrine. I saw none. The shrine of Lewuke, the god of clams, was

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lineage. Processions and feasts were held at different times by different lineages, by one lineage at one full moon, by another lineage at the next full moon, and so on; there seems to have been no regular rotation of lineages.

After the procession, of which no further details are remembered, the retiring priests went back to private life. Many were selected shortly thereafter by the old men to join their group, and continued as members of the old men's governing body (*tupele*) for the rest of their lives. Men who had served as priests did not necessarily lose prestige when they retired from the god house. Though they were no longer formal representatives of the lineage credited to the lineage gods, a large measure of validity still attached to their experiences as priests, and they retained the faculty, which they might exercise when they wished, of communicating with the gods. This they did either in the privacy of their houses or out-of-doors, if the god had no enclosure or shrine; at times they might even be invited to participate in god house or enclosure consultations. With his powers and training, a retired priest might acquire great prestige as a medicine man. As long as he continued to consult his god for medical purposes, he retained the title of priest and was popularly known as such. It is possible that the two-year term of office applied only to some priests and that certain more powerful priests, those with more practiced abilities to communicate with the god, continued to live in the god houses as supervising priests until their death.

Priests of the paternal lineages and sub-lineages were supported by frequent food gifts from their relatives and from the people of the lineage. A man who caught a *kakaf* fish took a small portion of it to the priest as a sort of good-will offering. Food divisions from all types of feasts were sent to the god house. This general food subsidy was supposed to cover special consultations by individuals, but it was usual for a man who had gained great good fortune through the intercessions of the priest with the god, to remember the priest with a special food gift.

The priest consulted the gods to proffer requests for special favors from individual members of the lineage; to ask for help on the occasions of group lineage activities, such as voyages, fishing expeditions, fishing contests, and sport contests; to procure favors on the occasions of infrequent fighting, and, at times when supernatural support was needed, to check or eradicate anti-social conduct of a part of the community; to ward off punishment brought about by the violation of tapus; or to learn diagnoses and prescriptions for the treatment of disease, injury, and sickness. He communicated with the god either in the god houses or on the sacred enclosures of the lineage. Sometimes a communication in the god house preceded the enclosure communication, especially on the occasion of a formal enclosure ceremony when the people of the lineage were present.

The technique of communication involved one or two types of utterance by which the individual apprised his god that he wished to contact him. The method of *uukatato te tenga* (thigh-beating ritual) was used for consulting a lineage god away from a god house and for consulting an ancestor god on the sacred clearing. The ritual of *lupe* was performed by the priest in the god house.

To *lupe*, the priest stood up with bent body, and advanced in a zigzag fashion, taking six or seven short tripping steps in one direction, then a similar number of steps obliquely. This is called *wakasli te vae*. At the same time he beat his thighs with the palms of his hands (*wakatato te tenga*) and made with his lips a b r . . . r . . . r . . . sound as if imitating the call of the wild pigeon (*lupe te leo*). Alternately he knelt on his sacred seat and performed this ritual without the steps. After performing these acts for a shorter or longer time, the priest expected to be filled by the spirit of the god. The spirit's manifestations were various: the priest's skin broke out in goose flesh (*kilikilis*); his head felt as if it were growing bigger and bigger; his feet moved against his will, and he felt that he was walking on air. He might break into a violent sweat, accompanied by chattering of the teeth, moaning, or speaking in a distorted voice. Any of these manifestations was taken as a sign of the presence of the god. The priest might immediately speak aloud the will of the god, or else interpret his experience to the people when he returned to normal feeling.

Variations of this general pattern of god house communication occurred in enclosure ceremonies. The people of the lineage went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage god for general consultations when the lineage planned a large-scale fishing expedition, as formerly to Nassau or Tima reef; when it planned a fishing, wrestling, or other contest with the other lineages; when a bad sickness or epidemic affected the people of the lineage; when a foreign canoe or a white man's boat was sighted; when, on infrequent occasions, a lineage decided to set up a sacred clearing for a man just made a deified ancestor; and at the time of the morning rising of the Pleiades (Matalili) when the lineage gathered for ceremonies to procure the favor of the god during the coming year. Members of the chiefly lineages went to their respective enclosures for the induction of a new chief or sacred maid; all the people of the island attended the induction ceremonies of the supreme chief on the enclosure of i Tua lineage.

A reconstruction from informant's accounts of an enclosure ceremony follows:

The people gathered at the sacred enclosure on the cleared common space (*ananga tanga*) that surrounded the tapo area. They grouped themselves around the outside of the coral curbing (*atinga watu*). Attended by the other priests of the lineage the officiating priest met the people if the god house was close; or, if it was distant, he arrived at the enclosure after the people were there. He was dressed in full priestly costume. Either the priest brought an offering (*lakei*) to the god or the people gave him one when they officially explained *why* they wished him to consult the god for them. Then as the people watched, the priest crossed the threshold of the enclosure at one of the gates (*pu*). He advanced to the sacred stone in the center and tied to the stone the offering. This was of coconut leaves if the consultation was for fishing contests, for aid in a quarrel, or for help in meeting foreign canoes. An offering of a pandanus mulo or bands of *welo* bark (*wasi welo*) was used for sickness consultations. In general, the type of offering depended on the priest's choice from the materials supplied by the people of the lineage to the stock of such god gifts kept ready in the god house. Coconut-leaf offerings seem to have been the most common. To wind the offering around the sacred stone is called *wakaipa*; to fasten the offering to the stone with a knot is *yele*.

After offering the gift to the god, the priest squatted, crouched, or knelt before the stone and talked silently to the god. Presently he felt one of the signs that the